THE MODERN COMMENTARIES ON THE GALLIC WAR.

A FULL, TRUE AND PARTICULAR NARRATIVE OF THE VICTORIES OF THE FRENCH ARMIES. We published on Saturday a complete chronological sketch of the progress of the Franco-German war from its beginning to the present time. It was compiled from the best material within our reach, and may be relied upon as possessing as much accuracy as ordinary history. But in justice to our readers, we present below a chronicle of the war collated from The New-York Borld, derived from sources unknown to earthly journalism, and exhibiting a vivid picture of the capabilities of the newspaper of the period, when freed from the groveling restraints of fact. We have the high authority of the Editor of The World for saying that the Cable dispatches to that paper are at once the fullest and most truthful ever transmitted to a periodical in any part of the globe. How wonderful, then, must be the alchemy of the editorial brain that can evolve from the colorless facts of the day this gorgeous and irri-

descent result. For the first five weeks of the campaign The World unfortunately had no dispatches except those obtained from the Associated Press or bought from THE TRIBUNE; but the strategical explanations of the editor partially supplied this lamentable deficiency. The first notable enstration on either side was the Prussian reconnelssance from Saar-Louis toward St. Avold. This made it extremely probable that the Prussians were falling back upon their really strong positions on the Khine' (The World, July 25), which indeed was "a simple matte of military common sense" (July 28); but the Prusslans neglected to adopt this sensible course, and the conse quence was the sham affair at Saarbrücken (where the Prince Imperial received his baptism of fire), and the opening of Rhenish Prussia to the invaders" (Aug. 3.) This was instantly followed by the battle of Weissenburg, where it was generally reported that Gen. Douay was bad On the contrary (as we learned from The World), Weissenburg was another " French victory. Weissenburg has been taken by anybody it has probably been taken by the French" (The World, Aug. 5); and as for "nothing could be more absurd" (Aug. 6). This view of the case was confirmed by the intelligence of the battle of Worth, where the Crown Prince pretends that he sigbefore the engagement MacMahon had been joined by Bazaine, had broken up the Prussian communication and had captured Weissenburg a second time. In fact the news appeared in The World of Aug. 7 under the fol-

WEISSENBURG RECAPTURED BY THE FRENCH.

THREE DAYS' FIGHTING. 10,500 PRUSSIANS KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE FIRST DAY'S FIGHT.

"We may expect to hear," added the editor, "that the Crown Prince's army has been not only defeated but crushed." The immediate fruits of the French victory were MacMahon's flight through the Vosges, the retreat of the rest of the French army to the line of the Moselle, the overthrow of the Ollivier ministry, the levy en masse, and the surrender by the Emperor of active military command. In the bewilderment of these few days The World committed the indiscretion of printing a map of Paris upside down (Aug. II), in which the Seine entered the city on the south-west and left it on the north, and Forts d' Issy, Vanves, Montrouge, and other southern defenses, were placed on the west; but about the middle of August that celebrated series of special dispatches to The World began to appear, and the effect upon history was instantaneous.

Just at this time the Prossians were operating against Razaine near Metz, and THE TEIBUNE was publishing its marratives of the terrible battles which began on the 14th of August, and culminated in the engagement at Grave. William, the Emperor Napoleon, THE TRIBUNE, and the principal European newspapers, believe that Bazaine s surprised on the 14th in the act of crossing the Moselle to unite with MacMahon, and was badly beaten; that he was beaten again on the lith west of Metz; beaten again at Mars la Tour and Doncourt on the 16th; beaten again at Rezonille on the 17th, and finally imprisoned at Metz by the bloody battle of Gravelotte on the 18th, which destroyed the last chance of his junction with MacMahon, and may be called the crisis of the campaign. But the true his tory of these five days (as given in The World) is very different. The news of the affair of the 14th arrived on the 17th. It was to the following effect :

THE TIDE TURNING.

A GREAT BATTLE FOUGHT NEAR VERDUN ON MONDAY.

A FRENCH VICTORY. THE PRUSSIANS DRIVEN BACK TO THE MOSELLE.

FORTY THOUSAND KILLED.

And in an editorial the same day, entitled "The First tempt of the Prussians to prevent their change of front,' and that the Prussian army had been "driven back sev ral miles." The result of the second day's battle was a eral miles. The results the establishment of the second Prussian check, and the establishment of the French in a "magnificent position at Etain," where Ba-It is plainly to be seen, remarked The World, that the French have "compelled King William to retire from the attack of Metz" (Aug. 18), and the next day this opinion was fully confirmed by the following announcementwhich refers to the battles of Dencourt and Mars la Tour:

BAZAINE'S BATTLES. A VICTORY ALONG THE WHOLE LINE. THE INVASION CHECKED.

BAZAINE BIVOUACKING ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE -FREDERICK CHARLES AND STEINMETZ SIGNALLY DEFEATED-FOUR REGI-

MENTS OF THE PRUSSIAN

GUARD EXTERMINATED. The Prussians having thus failed in a vital enterprise. and Bazaine made good his junction with MacMahon, it became a serious question whether King William would not even be driven back across the Saar. On the 21st, a World correspondent, who professed to have witnessed three days of the fighting, telegraphed that "the repulse of the Prussians was complete." n formal contradiction of the report from Berlin that the Germans had been victorious at Gravelotte. On the 23d Pletting Marshals of France," and Bazaine's march which the Prussians had been invariably outgeneraled and outfought. The situation at this time indeed wa highly curious. The Crewn Prince was marching upon. Paris pursued with all speed by MacMahon and Can. robert, while Bazaine, instead of being shut up at Metz, was "marching down rapidly from Thionville and Mont-medy upon St. Menchould and Chalons" for the purpose of falling upon the Crown Prince's flank. Nor was this glorious news impaired as failer details from the bloody fichts came in. It was on the 24th of August that THE TRIBUNE published its five-column description of the bartle of Gravelotte, and the final failure of Baraine The World published on the same day the following: THE ARMIES OF FRANCE UNITED IN THE

FIELD. BAZAINE SUCCESSFUL. TURNING OF THE TIDE.

PEARFUL LOSSES OF THE PRUSSIAN ARMY. SAFETY OF THE POPE.

It furthermore appeared that the Crown Prince was in Immirent danger of annihitation by the combined armies of became and MacMahon; that Prince Frederick Charles and Steinmetz had lost over 190,000 men; that MacMahon and the Crown Prince were moving on parallel lines toward Paris, maneuvering for position; Razzine was at Verdun and Montmedy, also maneuver-ing for position; the Crown Prince was certainly stopped and "probably falling back," as well as going forward (Aug. 24 and 25); and "MacMahon and Bazaine were united for battle," Such being the situation, an altack upon Von Steinmetz was only to be ex pected. That flery warrior was "cut off from Prince Proderick Charles's army and driven off northward," and the Prussians were also defeated at Mezleres (The World, Aug. 289. The Crown Prince in the meanwhile, bewild-ered by his misfortunes and alarmed at the attitude of Bazaine, wearied out his troops in useless marches. He was "ordered to move upon the capital" (The World, Aug. 29), but then he was also "preparing to fall back upon Metz" (Ibid.), and at the same time, in company with his father, was "advancing rapidly upon Paris (foid.) Eszalne at this critical juncture repeated the brilliant strategy which he had practiced every two or three days since the beginning of the campaign; he formed a junction with MacMahon." To appreciate the

NEW VIEWS OF HISTORY. a painful uncertainty prevailed in The World office discontent increased in the German camps; and Bazaine, especting MacMahon's situation. When last heard from he was in camp at Châlons and also running a race to Paris on parallel lines with the Crown Prince; and the London correspondent now telegraphed that he was believed to be simultaneously "endeavoring to relieve Bazaine at Metz." (The World, Aug. 29). The correspondent had unaccountably forgotten to remind MacMahon that Bazaine was not in Metz (having fought his way out at Gravelotte), and also that the two Marshais were already "united for battle," If MacMahon had known this, the fate of the empire might have been different. Meantime, "a series of great battles," lasting several days, took place in the Argonnes, with terrible slaughter, but without decisive results (The World, Aug. 50), except that "all went better and better for France" (Ibid.); and inasmuch as Bazaine was perfectly untrammeled at Metz (Ibid.) and "free to operate on the north and west with at least 100,000 men" (The World, Aug. 31), and admirably posted likewise at Montmédy with his entire army (The World, Aug. 25), flushed with the victory he had just won at Mézières (The World, Aug. 28), besides being at Metz with "400,000 troops" (The World, Aug. 31), ready "to fall on the Prussians in flank and rear," it is plain that the situation of the German

forces was extremely critical. On the 29th of August the victorious MacMahon had reached Beaumont, near [Sedan, land here, according to King William's telegram to the Queen, the French were signally beaten and driven back across the Meuse. This dispatch said The World (Sopt. 1), "bears on its very face the stamp of falschood, and shows plainly that these several telegrams have been made up to influence the money market;" and of a confirmatory dispatch from London the same journal remarked, "we dismiss this outrageous and contemptible attempt of London telegraphy to impose on American intelligence without ent." The truth was gradually divulged by The World's special dispatches of the next two or three days. From these we learn that MacMahon had unquestionably "a great success against the troops of ooth princes," totally defeating the left wing and center of the Prussians toforming a junction with Bazaine," and winning in connection with his brother marshal an important victory at Courcelles. Death and discourage nent made fearful havoe in the German ranks, and the Bayarians (having mutinled) "returned home and dis-banded." Bazame "caught Prince Charles in a trap," and nearly all the Prussian cavalry corps was cut to and nearly all the Prinssian cavairy corps was cut to pieces. "At Carignan MacMahon defeated the left wing and center of the enemy and forced the right wing to re-treat;" and these victories "settled the question of the abandonment of the siege of the capital." It is no wonder that under the pressure of such awful disasters King William became a lunatic, and was carried home to Berlin-full confirmation of which melancholy incident was given in The World of Sept. 3.

On the 2d of September at daylight the French suddenly "resumed the offensive and drove the Prussians all day," compelling large numbers of them to cross the front er into Belgium, where they were disarmed (World special from London, Sept. 3). On the same day, after this long and unbroken series of French victories, the Emperor Napoleon, with the whole of MacMahon's army,

rrendered at Sadan ! The historian whose chronicle we have followed took advantage of the pause of astonishment which ensued to remark as follows :

"We cannot in justice to our readers permit this oppor-tunity to pass for pointing out to them the fact that as the dispatches of The World from Europe since the out-break of this unhappy war have been the clearest and in substantial accuracy the most trustworthy, they will substantial accuracy the most trustworthy, they will bereafter be also the most copious and varied received by any New-York journal." (The World, Sept. 6.)

We have omitted to mention that when the investment of Strasbourg was first announced, The World ridiculed the story as preposterous; but it afterward saw some languid sort of way, and on the 9th of September it published a remarkable narrative from its special correspondent in London, telling how a force of Baden troops rossed the River Ill, and silenced the advanced batteries in front of the Porte des Juifs, but were then routed in the most dreadful manner, with the loss of two eatteries of artillery and 10,000 men killed and wounded. this victory that The World published on the 16th a map of Paris, again upside down. About this time began the eries of reports of Democratic demonstrations in London, denouncing the monarchy, clamoring for intervention between France and Germany, and causing the British Lion to put his tail between his legs and retire, howling with anguish, to his den in the Tower of London. It should be added that no journal, either at home or abroad, had the courage to print a full account of these iremendous demonstrations except The New-York World. About this time also began the periodical an-nouncements, by the special correspondents of the same paper, of an alliance between Austria and Russia to put a stop to Prussian conquests, an emphatic repetition of which will be found in The World of Sept. 14, and in at east a score of other issues between that time and the

Bazaine, it seems, notwithstanding previous assurnces, must have been in Metz at the time of the Emper r's final campaign, for we new hear of him cutting his way out. A rumor of this sort reached all the papers but The World alone had full and positive confirmation of it. The World also was the only paper to learn of the severe battle of Wissous, where the Prussians were de-Prussian Defeat," it was shown to be "quite plain that | feated with "fearful slaughter" (Sept. 21), and of the very desperate and important engagement (Sept. 27.) defeated at Toul and compelled to aband on the siege the special correspondent at Tours, appeared in The World on the 23d-the same day that Toul capitulated.

A new element was introduced into the situation when Russia Unmasked" (in The World of Sept. 29), and addressed a most bellicose dispatch ito Berlin, protesting against "the subversive and perverse doctrine of nationalties, so-called"-in the excitement attending which the historian dismissed the news of the surrender of Strasbourg as a doubtful and unimportant rumor

The next day the excitement was intensified. We have mitted to mention that after the unaccountable surender of the Emperor, the main body of the Germans went to Paris for the purpose of investing that city. Their misfortunes, however, had just begun. The French attacked them towards the end of the month, beat them disastrously in every quarter, broke through their lines and brought the investment to an end (The World, Sept. 30.) Particulars of the "Rout of the Crown Prince," the "Evacuation of Versailles," showed that Gen. Ducrot had won an immense victory, taking "5,000 prisoners, among whom were many officers of the Crown Prince's staff and 50 cannon and mitrailleuses," occupying Versailles and Rambouillet, and opening the road to Orienns and Tours. "A number of regiments of Baden troops mutinied on the battle-field and refused to go under fire ; nearly a hundred of these troops were shot by their commanders." (The World, Oct. 1.) This magnificent victory, equivalent to a raising of the siege, would undoubtedly have led to the unconditional surrender of the whole German army, had not The World confessed on the 3d that the story was a baseless fabrication, and there had been no French victory at all. This was unfortunate; but there is always consolation in store for the virtuous, and just at this time the spirits of our depressed friend were enlivened by the now cele-brated spectacle of the "three lead coffins," followed by mysterious mourners. The first coffin contained the Duke of Nassau, who was shot from an ambuscade. The second inclosed the hereditary Prince of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who was killed at Laon. (The World, Oct. 3.) In the third was the orpse of Von Moltke, (The World, Oct. 5.) Another distinguished German narrowly escaped a funeral just at this time, for the same volley which killed the Duke of Nassau riddled a carriage in which was riding no less a person than the maniac King of Prussia-whose removal o Berlin in a straight waistcoat the correspondent had probably forgotten. (We may add that the Duke of Nassau and the hereditary Prince of Mecklenburgschwerin are both alive.) A series of "French Successes" reported on the 7th, and general demoralization and home-sickness in the German camps, prepared us for the announcement on the 2th that the Army of the Loire had begun to drive everything before it, that Bismarck was eager for peace, and "THE TIDES" were "MEET-At the same time German Democracy was waking up," and thefe were "Menacing Signs in the Russian Skies." Bazaine, who had cut his way out of Mote about the middle of September, now took the field, in cooperation with the Army of Lyons, and successfully attacked the German rear and communications (The World, Oct. 10). He defeated the Germans on three suc-

Two important events occurred about this time which shrouded the whole German people in gloom. The first was the death of Prince Frederick Charles, aunounced in The World exclusively on the 12th of October, with three-quarters of a column of appropriate remarks. The second was the arrival at Tours of the tremendous special correspondent of that journal, MAJOR GOLIAH O'-GRADY GAHAGAN, who has won more victories and captured more towns than Bazaine, Ducrot, and all the er generals of France combined. As soon as he took the field, it is not too much to say that the war began to wear a new aspect. The very next day, Bismarck such for peace (which the French refused to grant), "lowered importance of this movement we must bear in mind that his terms," and " asked the great Powers to intervone;" | States.

casive days, inflicting in each battle enormous losses

The World, Oct. 11).

who was again at large, "thrashed the Prussians in a three days fight." (The World, Oct. 14.) On the follow ing day, together with a confirmation of Bazaine's vice tory, came the crowning success of the campaign. Trochu made his great sortic, and the siege of Paris came to an end, "The Prussian investment was repelled or all sides." On the 16th the news was to the following

BAZAINE ESCAPES. HIS WHOLE ARMY MARCHING TO THE RELIEF OF VERDUN.

TROCHU MOVING. THE PRUSSIANS DEFEATED BEFORE PARIS AND RETREATING. THE TIDE TURNING.

REPORTED CAPTURE OF THE WHOLE GERMAN FORCE AT ORLEANS. THEY LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS. ALL THE GERMAN FORCES TO BE CONCENTRATED

FOR DEFENSE. The "escape of Bazaine," we should not omit to men on, was illustrated by a careful map of his route. In consequence of this escape "the siege of Metz was raised" (The World, Oct. 17), as well as the siege of Paris, and the victorious Trochu marched out of the capital in the direction of Melun with full confidence that Bazaine would soon join him. During the rest of the week there was a rapid succession of battles, in all of which the French were successful, compelling the Germans to fall back before the Army of the Loire, while the beaten hosts of Moltke continued their retreat from before the walls of Paris. To add to the Prussian discomfiture, the English workingmen made another formidable demonstration in favor of France, and the British Empire was shaken to its foundation by the London Radicals who held their immense mass meeting on the top of a cab in Palace Yard. Strange to say, however, during these glorious days nothing was heard of Bazaine (who seems to have been perpetually cutting his way out of Mets and then vanishing out of sight), except that he was, for all practical purposes, "master of the situation on the Moselle." This being the state of affairs, Bazaine, on the 27th of October, surrendered the city of Metz and his whole army of 180,000 men. Probably he was anxious to " form a junction with MacMahon."

It was not the least embarrassing consequence of this unaccountable Prussian triumph that King William made it the occasion for opening the lead coffins and rewarding two dead men-appointing the late Prince Frederick Charles a Field Marshal, and the late General Moltke a Count. He behaved in this way because he

On the 3d of November, however, The World was enabled to announce that Metz had not surrendered! Bazaine had treacherously given up his army, in accordance with a secret understanding with Bismarck; but "the garrison of the forts of Metz and the people of that city and positively refused to be bound by the surrender of the army;" and this, as we understand our chronicler, is the situation at Metz down to the present day.

The trifling affairs of Sedan and Metz cannot be said

to have materially affected the aspects of the campaign, for they were effect by much more important events in other quarters. The French fleet sailed up the Eibe and ombarded the city of Hamburg (The World, Nov. 11), and (for aught that our historian has told us to the contrary) is bombarding it still; and Major Gahagan meanwhile kept the country between Tours and Paris in a continual ferment. Trochu's victorious promenade in the direction of Melun placed the Germans "in peril" and Count Moltke was "frightened into fortifying his

came out of Paris in a balloon on the 15th, and five days later made a sortie from Parist in company with Gen. Vinoy-both which events were reported in The World of the 23d. The sortie was, of course, successful, the Germans being "driven back a distance of seven miles," which, added to their previous retreats, must eave them at the present time about ten days' march from the outer circle of fortifications (and consequently beyond cannon shot), so that we may say the siege of Paris no longe; exists. Trochu has posted his whole army outside of Paris, in a spot where he can threaten the German communications (The World, Dec. 24); Bourbaki and Chauzy have effected a junction on the Loire; Manteuffel has been defeated near Amiens; Prince Frederick Charles and the Grand Duke have been driven

back upon Orleans; and Moltke at last has been com-

pelled with all haste to "fortify a line of retreat from

Versailles to Metz" (The World, Dec. 26.) This ends the

Versalies to netz (the word, bec. 26.) This ends the story. The preposterous obstinacy of the erapy Kaiser may drag out the iniserable war a few days longer; but no impartial reader of this narrative cen doubt that the annihilation of Germany is inevitable unless the demoralized rabble of Princes, Dukes, and Landwehr quickly pack their Knapsacks and make the best of their way to the frontier-by Moltke's fortified line of retreat.

MR. BEIGHT AS AMERICAN EMBASSADOR. The London News looks upon the proposition to send John Bright to the United States to settle the Alabama claims as an exceedingly unwise one. It says: Alabama claims as an exceedingly unwise one. It says:

A speculation has been interchanged between some English and American journals and orators which is more creditable to the feelings than to the judgment of its promoters. Mr. Bright, it has been suggested, would be a very proper person to send upon a special mission to Washington, for the purpose of seitling the Alabama claims and the Fisheries dispute. This well-meant proposal is an exceedingly unwise one. Mr. Bright is justly homored in the United States, and no doubt his reception in that country would be cordial and even enthusiastic. He has earned the admiration, and in some degree the gratinde, of the American people. But business is one thing and sentiment to shother; and neither the American Government nor the English tovernment is likely to let them exchange places. Mr. Bright himself is the last man in the world to do so. As Lord Granville said some time since in the House of Lords, there is no public man who has more of the true John Bull temper in him than the President of the Board of Trade. It is a mistake to suppose that Mr. Bright takes a more American view of the American claims and pretensions than the reat of his colleagues. He was formerly in advance of them, but they have come treaty embedied, and he has not gone beyond it. Mr. Bright was we hove many vears of public service before

THE NATIONAL DEFENSE. GUIZOT, THE HISTORIAN, ON THE DANGERS

OF FRANCE. THE OPPOSITION OF THE COMMITTEE OF NA-NATIONAL ASSEMBLY—THE INTERNAL DIS-SENSIONS WHICH RUIN FRANCE NOT LESS THAN THE INVADERS—NO PEACE POSSIBLE WITHOUT A STABLE GOVERNMENT. M. Guizot, the historian, from his retire-

ment, has addressed a long and able document to the Committee of the National Defense, urging the immediate election of a National Assembly, and pointing out the difficulties and necessities for the establishment of an authorized Government. It has been translated, of an authorized Government. It has been translated, and is published in Macmillan's Magazine for the current month. Below we give the main points of interest. From my distant home I look on and watch the terrible struggle of our time. It is now carried on by the members of the Government of the National Defense. They have chosen a tille which is both noble and unassuming. It is an honor to them first of all to have taken it, and since then to have earned a right to keep it. When France had neither a government nor an army they did not despair of France; they undertook to save her from a foreign enemy and from anarchy. What an enterprise, and what a responsibility! I cannot think of the situation of our country and of these, its rulers, without profound anxiety. If I now address them, I have no other claims upon their attention than those given by the experience of a long life and the self-abnegation of approaching death.

They have already done much.

They have already done much.

They have already done much.

They have already done much any crekindled the enthusiasm of the country, and created fresh armies which have already shown that they are anxious for peace, provided it is neither disgraceful finor illusive. They have rekindled the enthusiasm of the country, and created fresh armies which have already shown that they are capable of rendering good service.

I regret some of their actions and some of their inaction; but if we take into consideration all that they have done, and all the difficulties of their position, we shall find that their conduct has been that of good and courageous citizens. We must not, however, deceive ourselves by thinking that, in the existing state of affairs, and unaided, they are equal to their work. In our country, war never has, and never can have, any other aim than peace; and no one knows better than the members of the Government of the National Defense that. If it can be had with honor, the country desires peace. But it can be nearly an enter the provinces and nover good ma and is published in Macmillan's Magazine for the cur-rent month. Below we give the main points of interest

Evidently there is nothing but a National Assembly, freely elected by the whole nation, which can put an end to such an imperfect, irregular, and precarious condition. A National Assembly, by its discussions and decisions, would make those in whom power is now vested its responsible agents, and it would also cover that responsiwhile kept the counts of the count with period of the count Molike was "frightened into fortifying inspoiltons" (Nov. 11). Another victory by Trochus at Versalles led to a second raising of the siege of Paris (Nov. 16). Gen 'Aurelies of Eradines, tends as a first plant of the count of the Parish of the County of the Parish of the County bility and give the Government the unity, support, strength, and general recognition which it needs. It needs them both abroad and at home, in war and in peace.

DIFFICULTY OF FORMING AN ASSEMBLY. Our present government is republican in form. Our principal public men are, for the most part, Repubcans-not Republicans of the day and hour and occasion, but Republicars upon principle and of long standing. There are many kinds of Republicans, but I will only allude to three. There are, first, those wise and judicious men who accept the existing state of society, and wish to change nothing more than its principles and form of government. There are, secondly, the tanatics, who are imbued with the dectrines and passions of the Republic of 1792; and, lastly, there are Utopian Republicans, who desire not only a republican form of government, but social innovations which would only be possible if human nature and human society were otherwise than God has made them and we find them. I have nothing to say at present to the fanatics of 1792, nor to the Utopians of the social revolution of the future. I am addressing wise and prudent Republicans and them only, and it is with them that I argue the question of a general election and the calling together of a National Assembly. Why, at the bottom of their hearts, now that there is a fresh trial of the republic, are they so listices about a National Assembly! Because they are afraid that it will not be a republican assembly, or not sufficiently republican to work honestly at the establishment of a republic. They are afraid that the Assembly will be essentially conservative, and that it will care more for peace than for social progress. They think that it will be inclined to doubt whether a republic will succeed, or deserve to succeed, and that behind those moderate republicans who are the Beends of order it will always dread the appearance of the fanatics of 1792, and of the Socialists—in fact, of those allies who are more damaging than useful, and who are objects of natural alarm to that which is really and truly France.

The moderate Republicans have, indeed, some reason for uncasness when they see how little Republicanism there is in the greater part of Prance. Although a country may originate revolutions and endure them, it does not abolish all its long and glorious history, even although the past is not free from storms and sorrows. Moreover, the Republic has tw standing. There are many kinds of Republicans, but I will only allude to three. There are, first, those wise and

RIVALS OF THE PEFUBLIC.

And, first of all, an existing Government can only be

overthrown by its enemies or its openly declared rivals, unless indeed, as is commonly the case in our times, it succumbs of itself. Now, in considering the actual rivals of the republic, I do not see any that deserve to be called

formidable.

I will say one word only as to the Second Empire and Bonapartism. Its adherents are said to be seeking help for it among foreign Powers. I do not like to speak of the vanquished; especially those who are vanquished through their faults; but without wounding any susceptibilities, and with perfect truth, we may now say to France: 'You have had your experience; you know what you rely upon; it is of no use tooking to the Empire' Aque-1ork, Dec. 30, 1876.

for glory or for wisdom, for the shield of strength or the blessing of liberty."

The Legitimista have two strong points, their principle, and their fidelity to that principle; but those are no longer active forces, and are only useful in opposition and for resistance. The Legitimista may damage an established government; they cannot set up their own form of government. The time when they could conspire and rise is over; for the future they will be able to influence the home and foreign affairs of their country, only on condition of sharing the feelings and impulses of the nation. They are conservatives and adherents of the monarchy, and they say that they are also liberate and patriots, ready to take their part and place in the struggle of France to establish a free Government; they say they can do this, because they are the natural alies of order which aprings from liberty.

The Prince of the stablish a free Government; they say they can do this, because they are the natural alies of order which aprings from liberty.

The Prince of mutilating itself. But it has not known how to do this. The Comte de Chambord is still a diguified candidate for the crown, but an isolated and passave candidate, pledged to wait without doing anything or hoping for much.

The Princes of the House of Orleans are Princes, but not candidates for the crown. They have asserted and proved this in and eince iss. At the time of their full, under the Republic, under the Second Empire, and they are confered themselves to France as hinde they have assumed; I do not even discuss it; I must be they have assumed; I do not even discuss it; I must be a fact, they have been always ready to govern France. Moonlant his, they are essentially men of honer, if the Republic had asked them to take an oath of fidelity, and they had consented, they would have kept that oath. Whatever they may do, they are Princes, and will always be Princes; they will never be naupers. As to those who are said to be Orleanists, it is a mistake to call them a party. The Gov

Up to the present time there is in reality no formidable opponent to the Republic. Not only does the struggle against a foreign enemy overshadow every dissension and give all Frenchmen a common interest and a common aim, but even when the struggle is ended and we have nothing but our domestic affairs to attend to, the Republic will still be in our midst with such forces and chances as it may have. If it succeeds in the present war, it will have served us greatly against the enemy. Will it be capable of becoming the government of France! Will it have anything more to offer than the stormy and uncertain reign of a political party and a revolutionary faction! Will it ever become a calm and orderly government, able to protect the interests, the rights, and the freedom of all! When peace once more blesses our land, when we are trying to heal us of our wounds, this question will come before us in all its force; the answer will then depend upon the conduct of the Government, and not upon its name. Whether for good or evil, the Republicans themselves will decide the fate and future of the Republic. There is only one way in which they can secure a decision favorable to their cause. It is by missing themselves, in the true sense of the word, representatives of France, of that rational, moderate, and honest France which for three-quarters of a century has demanded the same thing from every Government which has successively ruled the land—law and order as a security for social life, and liberty for the development of fruitful industry. France will ask the Republic, as she has asked its predecessors, to grant these two good gifts. public will still be in our midst with such forces and

NO POPMIDABLE FOR OF THE REPUBLIC.

REPUBLICAN DUTIES. In order to inspire hope and confidence in the nation there are two things which the Republican candidates must do. They must separate themselves from their dangerous allies, the fanatical revolutionary republicans the Utopian socialistic frepublicans; and secondly, they must live constantly in the presence and under the eye of the nation, through representatives freely elected by it, who shall have a voice in the gov ernment. The fanatics and socialists have a right to public liberty, but they ought not to be chosen as members of the Government, and that, too, by its leading members; for, whether they wish it or not, they are sure to prove fatal to every form of government alike, whether it be a republic or a monarchy. This is a measure dictated by necessity and political pradence, and is one of the necessary and temporary trials to which all ideas must be content to submit before they can be allowed to pass into the region of fauts. It is absolutely necessary that the 1-quittlean Government should identify itself with France; and this can only be done by securing to the country the means of making known its wishes to the Government, of influencing it, and being influenced by it. ernment. The fanatics and socialists have a right to

DUTIES OF THE ASSEMBLY. It would not be needful for the Assembly to be always itting, and constantly interfering in the management of the war, in order to establish the necessary connection and a reciprocal influence between the National Assembly and the armies of France. The Assembly would have to give a vote on the question of war, and to grant or refuse supplies; after that it should either adjourn or keep silence, and not interfere with military operations or diplomatic regotiations unless it was summoned by or diplomatic negotiations unless it was summoned by the executive chiefs, or by its own supreme head, in view of some great emergency of war or peace. As to the precise events which might render the direct intervention of the National Assembly necessary or desirable, and as to the precise times at which that intervention should be called for, these are matters of destail which cannot be foreseen or decided on beforehand according to any general rules. For example, when the negotiation between France and Prusals which had been entered into for the purpose of prosturing an armistice had failed, and after the calm, luminous, and precise necount of it given by M. Thiers, I think the French Government would have done well to decree the immediate election of a National Assembly throughout the whole of France, and this could have been done with the consect even of M. de Bismarck himself. Undoubtedly such an Assembly would have been found very decidedly in favor of the war, nithough showing a generally pucific tendency. Strengthened by a clear and strong assertion of the national will, the Government could have carried on war energetically and would have had good reason for asserting that it was henceforth the only worthy and honorable means by which France could obtain peace. This opportunity for the immediate election of a National Assembly was allowed to pass, and I am sorry for it, but others may arise. Who knows that the attitude of Rossia toward the Treaty of isos, and the European complications to which it will possibly lead, may not supply the French Government will be complete, the nation, and to be always in action; the real necessity is to elect it and bring it into existence, so that the country and the executive may know that there is a living force ready to respond to their appeal. When that is done, the National Government will be complete, the nation. Both nation and government will be complete, the nation. Both nation and one of the day and hour of action. the executive chiefs, or by its own supreme head, in

SIDE SEATS IN STEAM RAILWAY CARS. To the Editor of The Tribune.

SIR: You state this morning that the new seast cars, to be placed on the Hariem Road, are much calent and popular than the transverse-seated more convenient and popular than the transverse-seated ones which we have been using. I have lived on the line of the Harlem Kaliroad for over 20 years, and I find the opinion of the regular travelers very much the reverse-These scats, being the same as in an ordinary street car, by the time the car is three-quarters full it is almost impossible to obtain a seat, as there is no disposition among the passengers to "move along," and no conductor to make them; so that only those with brass enough to "make a seat" stand any chance of getting seated. Even then you are crowded with anybody and everybody who chooses to sit next to you; you are liable to have your feet treaden on at all times, he matter how careful you may be to keep thom out of the way; and in walking through the car your clothing is solided by coming in contact with all the boots and slows which you are compelled to pass. There are no conveniences for patting a way bundles and umbrellas, as in the other cars, and you are obliged to put your lag or package on the floor, and soil yourself with it when you take it up again, or inconvenience yourself by carrying it in your hands or on your lap. These are only part of the many reasons for disliking the change, and the only reason I know for its being done is that the cars are about \$1,000 andece cheaper.

Age-lock, Dec. 30, 1875. enough to "make a seat" stand any chance of getting

THE ALABAMA CLAIMS.

A LIBERAL ENGLISH VIEW OF THE CON. TROVERSY, From advance sheets of the January num-

ber of Macmillan's Magazine we reprint the following portions of a temperate examination of "The Alabama laims" by Lord Hobart (son of the Earl of Bucking hamshire). After reviewing the history of the quarret, Lord Hobart says:

hamshire). After reviewing the history of the quarrel, Lord Hobert says:

Such being the present position, what is the future fate of this question! It seems impossible not to admit that a nation which by its Senate or in any other manner rejects a convention, not only bearing the signature of its accredited representative, but, after important alteration to suit the views of its Government, approved by that Government, places itself protected in a disadvantageous position before the world. Constitutional peculiarities may desprive such engagements of legal obligation, but cannot prevent them from being considered by public opinion assome kind of admission on the part of the nation that equitable terms have been effered to it, or in other words that a demand for further concession is excribitant. The British Government, however, has with much wisdom and moderation refrained from insisting strongly on this view of the case, and contented itself with the requirement, the justice of which is sufficiently evident, that, as regards any renewal of the negotiations, the initiative should proceed from the American side. Assuming, then, that at the instance of the American Government the negotiations will before long be resumed; if remains to inquire on what their success or failure may be expected to depond. Now, it is evident from the statements of Mr. Fish and of Mr. Motley, and indeed would be sufficiently clear without them, that though several reasons are given for the rejection of the freaty by the American Senate, the chief reason was the fact that the claims for which it provided a settlement were those of individual losers by the depredations of the Alabama and her kindred, no men tion at all being made of any claim on the part of the Government of the United States against that of Great a settlement were those of individual losers by the depredations of the Alabama and her kindred, no mention at all being made of any claim on the part of the Government of the United States against that of Great Britain for alleged breach of international duty. The United States consider, wrongly or rightly, that they have two distinct claims against us; one for the rembursement of American subjects for the losses which they incurred on this account; the other, to some kind of redress, reparation, or amende homorable for the important assistance which (as they contend) was given to the Rebel States by the premative recognition of their "belligerency," and the subsequent negligence of the British Goyernment to prevent some of its disastrona consequences by detailing the Alabama and other vessels in the ports of England. There can then be no doubt that, whatever other amendments it may be desirable to make in the Convention, if a few words could be added to it providing for reference to an arbitrator of the questions, whether the conduct of Great British during the war involved any breach of international obligation—whether, if it did, the error was of a kind for which reparation could properly be demanded—and if so, which ought to be the nature of that reparation—a settlement

onghe to be the hatere of that reparation—a settlement of the dispute would at once ensue.

Now, if the state of affairs was simply this—that the United States had demanded of our Government reparation of some kind for the recognition of Southern beingerency, and our Government had replied by a distinct refusal—there would be very few Englishmen, probably very few persons on this side of the Atlantic, who would find fault with the reply. That on the English side of the question there are arguments of considerable force. Americans themselves would admit; and the British Government has as good a right to hold that it is not responsible for that act and its consequence, as the Government of the United States has to a contrary option. But that is not the proposal now under consideration. sponsible for that act and its consequences, as the Gorernment of the United States has to a contrary opinion.
But that is not the proposal now under consideration.
The proposal is, that the question—which of these two
opinions is right—should be referred to the judgment of
a tribunal selected for its wisdom and inpartiality.
Whatever else may be thought of this proposition, it is
one which undoubtedly merits the most auxious consideration. A nation deliberately rejecting such a mode
of settling differences for which there is only one other
settlement, may have valid reasons for doing
so, but (always supposing that a fitting arbitrator can be found) incurs very serious responsibility.
In the disputes of private life, which cannot be made the
disputant who refuses to submit the question to the
friendily decision of a third person, is the disputant who
is in the wrong. This may very possibly not be the case;
but there are, at all events, no unreasonable grounds for
the inference. It might seem superfinous to repeat, but
is too often forgotten—that to make concessions on a
mere demand is one thing; to make concessions which
have been pronounced just by a duly appointed referee
is quite another. In the first case there is implied either
an admission of the justice of the demand, or a defict are
of power or of courage to resist it—in the second, heither
the admission nor the deficiency. From concession the
result of arbitration there can fairly be inferred heither
asense of culpability on the one hand, nor of weakness
or fear on the other. In ordinary cases it is properly attributed to a just appreciation of what is due to the
general interest, which requires that the members of a
community shall abstain as far as possible from taking
the law into their own hands.

Judging from past discussions, the objections which
will be taken on the part of England to this proposal are
pastolaws: The first is that we are so unquestionably in
the right, that there is no case, or shadow of a case, or

will be taken on the part of England to this proposal as follows: The first is that we are so unquestionably the right, that there is no case, or shadow of a case, the other side. But this argument (to which it may reanably, though perhaps not conclusively, be replicant if so we have no need to fear an adverse decision above. It seems, indeed, impossible to read the componence on the subject without perceiving that the exists at least some color for the American view. It statement that the recognition was precipitate, derived say the least, some show of reason from fact, that of the great battles of the war to be a few one had been fought when it occurred (while saying, in other words, that the "civil war" is not than actually begun); while the reasoning of Government, that the Unified States themselves had blockading the parts in the hands of the Rebels, already

posing them to have been suddenly seized by Iriain rebeis? Is it, or is not the field when those very United States were rebels against Great Britain, we blockaded some of their ports, and, so far from admitting that beligerent rights were thereby accorded to them, treated as a rouss head the admission of some of their crusses into a foreign port! It is not here asserted that to these arguments on the American side no answer can be given on the part of Great Britain;—it is not even asserted that they have not been answered by our Government in a namer canclusive;—all that is contended for is that it is rectly about to assert that on this point the American Government is so absolutely and hopelessly destitute of all saidows of argument and all possible pretext for complete that this is a case to which arbitration is wholly inapplecable. It is perfectly possible and even probable that ford Carendon's reply to Mr. Fish might be considered according by the arbitrator, what seems impossible that ford Carendon's reply to Mr. Fish might be considered according to be said on the other side. Another answer, supposed to be decisive as against the view taken by the United States in regard to the recognition is, that in his correspondence with foreign Governments on the subject, their maister spake of the insurrection as a regularly organized "civil war." But it is surely not difficult to see that this argument, though a fair weapon of controversy, is by no means unanswerable. The tosurrection of the British American colonies which hed to their independence was as regularly organized, and if any one had said that these colonies had levied "miniment, flagrant, deadly war "against great Britain, he would have said that which via reither very unmatural nor very inconsistent with the facts of the case; yet no one can imagine that such a statement would have prevented any immediate decision of the Great Britain, he would have said that which via reither reference how are one of the data for his guitance; but the difference in t

hen these very United States inst Great Britain, we blockaded some

that nations and individuals are amenable to different noral laws, it would be seen that this is a case in which the more peaceful course is also the most magnantmosts. In civilized society, the man who, in disputes with lisellows, resorts to violence rather than to concludatory interposition, is not the man who is most credited with a due sense of his own dignity. Nor is it casy to understand how a State, whose representative was the chief author of the paragraph in the Protocol appended to the Trenty of Paris in 1856, and which expressed a hope on the part of the great European Powers that sertons informational differences would in future be referred to arbitration, can reject arbitration on an occasion such as this. That paragraph in must have been intended, if it had any necaning at all, to counteract the undue sensitiveness of national honor; and it is not easy to perceive, if inapplicable to this question of recognition, to what great international disputes it can ever be considered to apply. Reference to arbitration in such a case as the seems almost forced upon a nation which is neither so weak that it need be unjeen rous, nor of so little account in the

national disputes if can ever be considered to apply-Reierence to arbitration in such a case as this seems almost forced upon a nation which is neither so weak that it need be ungen rous, nor of so little account in the world that it need stake incalculable interests on points of infernational punctine; a nation which, 14 years ago, led the way in the out-aught against that pride of race which refuses to submit to judicial inquiry and has been the parent of the most calamitous wars that have dessimon the world.

There is no need to insist, in the interest of a specify and peaceful settlement of this unhappy dispute, on the general naturatinges of international angry, or un the special importance to England of a goodfunderstanding with the United States. But there are some considerations which are apt to be less sight of, but which appear to recommend to us, in this inside-e, a course conclinatory to the extreme limits of concession. Support of these is the fearfal national loss and suffering which was really inflicted upon them, as well as that which, it may be errocusely, but at all events devoutly. Ancreans believed have been inflicted upon them by the conduct of England during the war. Whether that conduct involved any breach of international duty such as to turnish them with a right to reparation, may well be questioned; what cannot be questioned is that it cost them terribly dear, and the production of conservaa right to reparation, may went see destroy dear, and not be questioned is that it cost them dearer. Apart from the plundering and burning by Confederate crusers, there can be no doubt that the escape of these vessels from England transferred in great part to England ker-